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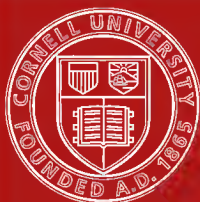
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RELATIONS · BETWEEN · ENGLAND ·
AND · ZURICH · DURING · THE ·
REFORMATION ... BY · TH · VETTER.



Dedicated to the XXIII. Anglican Church
Conference of Northern and Central Europe.
ZURICH, June 1st and 2nd, 1904.



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*Dedicated to the xxiii. Anglican Church
Conference of Northern and Central Europe.
Zurich, June 1st and 2nd, 1904*

LONDON
ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

1904.

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DURING the Reformation and throughout the sixteenth century Zurich was one of those places where English scholars and fugitives very frequently found a quiet abode. Here new ideas and doctrines in regard to the Church took their origin, from here they were brought to England. English books, too, were printed at Zurich, while works of Zurich reformers were translated and published in London.

It is not difficult to give the date when this connection began: it was most probably the year 1531. In 1529 the learned Simon *Grynaeus*, then at Heidelberg, was invited by the authorities of Basle to fill the chair which Erasmus had left vacant. He gladly accepted the call, but being prevented from beginning his

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lectures by a thorough reorganization of the university, he thought to make the best use of his time by going to England where he might profit by the intercourse with celebrated men of learning. It was a period of great excitement then in England. The question of king Henry VIII.'s divorce, having already been discussed for several years, was now to be decided. The English theologians who had been consulted referred the king to the pope, whose decision was already known beforehand. The trial of the case in the hall of the Blackfriars, in July 1529, was a mere farce. After Cardinal Wolsey's fall and death, the king hoped once more to find men of learning and renown who might be inclined to declare his marriage with Catharine of Aragon, his brother's wife, as unlawful. Thomas *Cranmer*, at that time a simple Cambridge scholar, suggested that the universities of Europe should be called on for their judgment, and Simon Grynaeus, after having been duly informed in regard to the nature

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and state of the question, was employed by King Henry to collect the opinions of the German and Swiss reformers.

On the 10th Sep., 1531, Grynaeus was able to send to the English king from Basle a number of letters¹ relating to the question of his divorce.

Not all the answers were according to the king's desire. Still, Zwingli was of the opinion, that "if the marriage be against the law of God, it ought to be dissolved; but the queen should be put away honourably, and still used as a queen."² A few weeks later the great reformer of Zurich died on the battle-field of Kappel (11th Oct., 1531).

Whether Thomas Cranmer on one of his journeys to Rome saw Grynaeus or other Swiss reformers, we do not know; but after he had been named to the see of Canterbury, the archbishop was still in correspondence with Grynaeus³ as well as

¹ Original Letters, No. 257. ² *Burnet*, History of the Reformation of the Church of England, 1, 90. ³ Allusions to his letters in Original Letters, No. 244.

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with Bullinger, Zwingli's talented successor
in Zurich.¹

Among those who brought letters and books from England we find the celebrated English printer Reyner or Reginald Wolf² (d. 1573), famous through his manuscript collection for a "Universal History or Cosmography", out of which Raphael Holinshed drew his "Chronicles". Wolf was a regular visitor to the fair at Frankfort on Main, where he used to meet the Zurich printer, Christopher Froschower. It may be that by means of this intermediation young English gentlemen were recommended to Bullinger for theological instruction.

Konrad Pellikan, professor of Hebrew, who received pupils in his family, informs us in his "Chronikon"³ that the first two Englishmen arrived on the 18th of August, 1536, namely *John Butler* and *William*

¹ *Kessler's Sabbata*. St. Gallen 1902, page 463 sqq. ² Original Letters, No. 244, note.

³ Edited by B. Riggenschach. Basel 1877, p. 146.

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Udroph (Udroffus),¹ who were, after some time, followed by a third one whose name was also *William*. Pellikan's domestic life, however, was not very happy then. His wife was ill and died in October. The three young gentlemen thereupon left his house, to return again a few months later, when Pellikan had taken another wife. In the following winter they went to Geneva, then probably to Basle, whence Butler came once more to Zurich in autumn 1539, because the plague was then raging at Basle.²

But the head of the Church of Zurich himself, Henry Bullinger, had also opened his house to the English students. *Nicholas Partridge* lived with him from August, 1536, to January, 1537, whereupon he went to England for a short visit, taking with him Rudolf Gwalter, Bullinger's foster-son, in his later years an excellent preacher. Re-

¹ A letter of Guilhelmus Udroffus is inserted in *Kessler's Sabbata*. St. Gallen 1902, p. 480.

² *Chronikon* p. 149.

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turning in June, 1537, they brought with
them *Nicholas Eliot* and *Bartholomew*
Traheron.

We are not informed of the doings
of these students during their stay at Zurich;
there can however be no doubt that they
devoted all their time to theological studies.
On their way home Butler, Partridge,
Eliot, and Traheron send a letter of thanks
to their "Master Bullinger":

"We had a very pleasant journey to
Berne, except only that the absence of
one so dear to us as yourself sometimes
distressed our minds. The friends to whom
you so kindly gave us letters of recom-
mendation entertained us with more than
common courtesy. A great part of this
their kindness we place to your account,
who did not think it enough to treat us
courteously yourself, without causing the
same conduct to be manifested by others."
— The end of the letter betrays who were
their teachers: "We hope you will not
think it a trouble to salute diligently in

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our name master Leo Judae, master Pellikan, and that chief ornament of Switzerland, yea, rather of the whole world, Theodore Bibliander; the kindness of all of whom as well as their rare learning, we regard with such veneration as that we never can forget them.”¹

These lines, without place or date, may have been written in Switzerland; from another letter² we hear that the friends were at Geneva, visiting Calvin, and later on we find them at Strasburg. None of these early English visitors was destined to play an important part in the Reformation of their country, but we hear of most of them in later years, and their feelings towards Zurich were always of the kindest.

John Butler, a rich man, more than once visited Zurich in later years; he had once been offered “an honourable post about the king; but smitten with the love of the muses, he seemed to have an ab-

¹ Original Letters, No. 286. ² No. 285.

8 *Relations between England and*
horrence of a courtier's life."¹ He continued his studies at Strasburg, was for several years (between 1539—42) at Basle, and seems to have settled down at Zurich about 1550, where an edition of Peter Martyr's book "de Sacramento Eucharistiae" was dedicated to him in 1552. He always took the greatest interest in the English Reformation, and his letters are a valuable source for our knowledge of the state of things in the English church at that period. Presently we shall meet with the name of Butler's son Henry, who paid a visit to his native country, together with Zwingli's son Rodolphe and Rodolphe Gwalter the younger, in 1571.

William Udroph or Udroff is probably identical with that Woodrooffe who sends his greetings from Frankfort to his Zurich teachers in 1538. Of his later life we hear nothing.

That "other" William in Pellikan's house is *William Petersen*, who continues his

¹ No. 287.

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studies at Frankfort and Strasburg,¹ although he seems to be more interested in matters of business. He had ordered bows at Glaris² and was not satisfied when he received them. "For, whereas each bow-stave ought to be three fingers thick, and squared, and seven feet long, and to be got up well polished without any knots, scarcely one of them answered to this pattern and description."³ Even in such troubles Bullinger had to help his English friends, who went so far as to ask him, that they might, by his aid, obtain a licence from the authorities of Zurich to select trees in a certain wood belonging to the magistrates of the town, in order to make bows and to export them to England.⁴

The most amiable among the English guests was — no doubt — *Nicholas Partridge*. He had been sick on arriving in Zurich, was nursed in the house of Bullinger, and took — as we have heard

¹ No. 277. ² No. 288. ³ No. 289. ⁴ No. 292.

10 *Relations between England and*
— his host's foster-son for a visit to
England. After a second stay at Zurich
he was the bearer of a book which con-
tained two treatises by Bullinger (*De Scrip-
turae Sanctae Autoritate, &c.* and *De
Episcoporum Institutione et Functione &c.*
Tiguri, Froschower 1538), and which ¹⁵⁷² were
dedicated to King Henry VIII. He de-
scribes in a letter of Sep. 17th, 1538¹ the
way in which he delivered his message:
“We addressed first of all the Archbishop
of Canterbury, who most courteously re-
ceived the copy sent to himself: we offered
him likewise, for civility's sake, and that
it might be received more favourably, the
book intended for the king: at first he
refused, and thought it would be much
more advantageous if it were placed in
the hands of the lord Cromwell, that he
might deliver it to the king; but after
supper he asked for the king's book of
his own accord, and promised to deliver
it into his hands, provided we were pre-

¹ No. 280.

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sent, in case the king should wish to ask us any questions. We then called upon the lord Cromwell: Eliot put into his hands your book addressed to himself; he received it very kindly, together with the letter, which he read through, notwithstanding he was overwhelmed with business. That evening he went to court, having some business with the king, to whom he doubtless shewed the book he had that day received. As soon as the Archbishop of Canterbury heard of this, he forthwith sent the king his book, at a time when we could not be present. But that the gift was acceptable to the king, we collect from this circumstance, that His Majesty expressed a wish to those around him, that it should be translated into English."

The royal desire was fulfilled, but — as it seems — only very much later: we know an edition of Bullinger's "Discourse of the woorthynesse, authoritie and sufficiencie of the holy Scripture, translated by Tomkys" of the year 1579.

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For some time Partridge was in the service of the Bishop of St. David's in Wales,¹ then he was tutor to the children of the Mayor of Dover,² always a zealous propagator of the new doctrine, an admirer and faithful disciple of his teacher Bullinger. "Not only the church of Zurich — he writes to him³ —, but all other churches which are in Christ, bear witness to the skill, and purity, and simplicity of faith, with which you have expounded the whole Bible, and especially the epistles of St. Paul. And how great weight all persons attribute to your commentaries, how greedily they embrace and admire them, (to pass over other numberless arguments), the booksellers are most ample witnesses, whom by the sale of your writings alone . . . you see suddenly become rich. May God therefore give you the disposition to publish all your writings as speedily as possible."

Partridge's letters always show the

¹ No. 287. ² No. 281. ³ No. 284.

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most tender feelings, and are often accompanied by little presents. He might certainly have done good service to the Reformation, but he died young, about 1540,¹ much deplored by all his friends, especially by Rodolphe Gwalter.

Nicholas Eliot is of a far less communicative turn of mind; in his rare letters he usually expresses the opinion, that the friends who bring them to Zurich will give much better information about his doings than he could give by his writing. Soon after his return he begins to study "our municipal law, and is in no small degree aided therein by the munificence of the king".² In 1542 he held an office from whence he derived a good income. Bullinger thought highly of him, but when he recommended to him one of his pupils (John ab Ulmis) in 1548, the answer was, that "Eliot has long been dead and gone to heaven".³

None of the earlier pupils of Bullinger

¹ No. 294. ² No. 287. ³ No. 184.

14 *Relations between England and*
had greater influence in England than
Bartholomew Traheron.¹ For some time
he was in the service of the lord Cromwell,
after whose fall he retired to Geneva.
He took an active part in the discussion
on the Eucharist, wishing that the opinions
of the Swiss reformers might be victorious.²
In 1550 he became "tutor to the duke
of Suffolk, who is of the same age with
the king."³ His enthusiasm for king
Edward VI. seems to be founded on per-
sonal acquaintance; he praises him as one,
"who is making wonderful progress in
learning, piety, and judgment", and asks
Bullinger "to commend to God in his
prayers this prince of the greatest hope,
who is even now a defender of the
Christian religion almost to a miracle."⁴

Swiss students, recommended to Tra-
heron by Bullinger, were received with
the utmost kindness, and one of them,
Johannes ab Ulmis, was even engaged

¹ See Dictionary of National Biography 57, 148.

² Original Letters, No. 152. ³ No. 222. ⁴ No. 153.

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to instruct *Lady Jane Grey*, daughter of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, after Edward VI.'s death (6th July, 1553) for a few days queen of England, but beheaded in 1554. Through Johann von Ulm Lady Grey became acquainted with Bullinger, to whom she addressed those interesting letters which now form one of the most valuable treasures of the "City Library of Zurich." They are published separately ¹ and in the "Original Letters" as nos. 4—6.

Traheron was in great favour with the leading persons under Edward VI.; he was appointed dean of Chichester ² and, together with the most influential defenders of the new doctrine, he was made a member of the commission for framing ecclesiastical laws.³ He was very anxious in regard to certain theological questions, especially that of predestination; he asks for Bullinger's advice and is very

¹ *Joannae Graiae Litterae ad Henricum Bullingerum*. Zürich 1840. ² *Strype*, *Eccles. Mem.* II. II, 266. ³ *ib.* II. I, 530.

16 **Relations between England and**
thankful for it, although he frankly confesses: "I cannot altogether think as you do."¹ More and more he turns toward Calvinism. When Mary came to the throne, he had to leave England together with many of his brethren, and went to Frankfort where he taught in the 'University' set up there for the maintainance of learning among the English exiles. He was lecturer in divinity and read e. g. upon the beginning of St. John's Gospel, and upon the fourth chapter of the Revelation.² His name appears for the last time in 1556; we do not know when he died, probably about 1558.

There is one English friend of Bullinger and of the other Zurich reformers who did not belong to the learned professions, *Richard Hilles*, a merchant. His numerous letters are, nevertheless, written in Latin, although he frequently enough wishes to be excused for the awkwardness of his

¹ Original Letters, No. 155. ² *Strype*, Eccles. Mem. III. I, 543.

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style. We hear of him for the first time in 1540,¹ he seems to have visited Zurich in 1542, and he is from that period onward, for about thirty-seven years, one of the most interesting correspondents. Hilles left his country, because he was afraid of persecution, and earned his living as a cloth-merchant chiefly at Strasburg, although there are also letters dated from Frankfort, London, or Antwerp. When he writes, his regular topic is, of course, the state of the affairs of the church, but so many items of worldly news, evidently received from trustworthy sources, are inserted, that we get vivid glimpses into the public as well as into the private life of that period. For his Zurich friends the descriptions of Thomas Cromwell's fall and execution (28th July, 1540), of the king's proceeding against Anne of Cleves, of his marriage with Catharine Howard, of the execution of her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, and her cousin, Henry Howard, Earl of

¹ Zwingliana 1899, p. 100.

18 *Relations between England and Surrey*,¹ the poet, must have been of great interest, at a time when no newspapers or periodicals informed the people of the events of the world.

The accession of King Edward fills him with great joy, for now he may return to his native country, and his children, born abroad, are naturalized.² Six years later, on the 9th of July, 1553, i. e. three days after king Edward's death, Richard Hilles in a letter to Bullinger expresses his deep regret that England had lost that promising sovereign, but he is full of hopes for the future, knowing that Queen Jane (Lady Jane Grey) will protect the new doctrine: "Yet we are not altogether without God's mercy, since he has now ordained such a successor to so pious a king, under whom we have great hopes that we, her subjects, shall nevertheless be able to live a godly, quiet, and tran-

¹ Original Letters, Nos. 105 sqq. ² Original Letters, No. 118 and *Strype*, Eccles. Mem. II. II, 66.

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quill life, in all peace, virtue, and righteousness; and that the pure word of God will always be sincerely preached in this realm.”¹

Within a few days things changed entirely, and Richard Hilles, whom Bullinger so often had exhorted not to allow his worldly interests to influence his religious persuasion, had to confess (years later):² “As long as our cruel and superstitious Queen Mary reigned in this country I was so afraid for my property, and of getting into danger, yea, even for my life itself, that I scarcely dared to write to persons of your character, or to receive letters from them.” We are indeed forced to believe the accusations of one William Salkyns (“Servant of master Richard Hilles”),³ that Hilles frequented the mass; but we may be ready to forgive his weakness, when we hear how faithful he

¹ Original Letters, No. 125. ² Zurich Letters, II. series, No. 7 (Feb. 28, 1559). ³ Original Letters, No. 168.

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was towards his old friend Bullinger, and
how kindly he received the numerous
Swiss students in England who were re-
commended to him from Zurich.

His last letter, addressed to Rodolphe
Gwalter, is written four years after Bul-
linger's death, and he tries to comfort him
for the loss of his "dear sons and inti-
mate friends."¹

A very ^{sympathisch, i.e. attractive} sympathetic person appears fre-
quently with Richard Hilles, *John Burcher*,
also a merchant, who does excellent
services to the cause of the Reformation
both in England and Switzerland. He has
left his native country "for the sake of
true religion" and is maintaining himself
by manual labour now at Basle, now at
Strasburg and elsewhere. Burcher is de-
sirous of becoming a citizen of Zurich,
and Hilles recommends him warmly to
Bullinger and to the authorities. A testi-
monial being required, signed by some
persons worthy of credit, his friend sends one

¹ Zurich Letters, II. series, No. 125.

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with the signatures of one William Swerder and of Miles Coverdale, then a simple "master of a grammar school at Bergzabern," but already favourably known as an excellent translator of the Bible.¹ Whether John Burcher's desire was granted by the magistrates of Zurich we do not know, still it is very probable. For having usually signed his letters "Anglus", he writes himself "Anglo-Tigurinus" in 1548.²

The events of Burcher's later life show many attractive sides; his journey to Poland, for instance, where he went to obtain permission to establish a brewery, is of singular interest,³ only it has nothing to do with our subject; while it is worth mentioning, that Bullinger's sons were living in his house at Strasburg, in 1553.

Having witnessed so far the earlier connections between England and the Zurich reformers, and the results therefrom, which were chiefly of a personal cha-

¹ Original Letters, No. 114 (1545). ² No. 296.

³ Nos. 328—333.

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racter, we have now to turn our attention to English exiles who took an active part in the Reformation of their country, whose works are directly influenced by Bullinger and his friends, and partly even printed at Zurich; while — during the reigns of Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth — they translated and published in England treatises written for the reformation of Switzerland.

The first name we meet with in this line is that of the zealous reformer and dramatist *John Bale*. He had been converted to Protestantism by Lord Wentworth, and earned the protection of Thomas Cromwell for certain comedies he had written in favour of the new doctrine.¹ At his patron's fall in 1540 he fled to Germany, and joined vigorously in polemic. Under the pseudonym of Henry Harryson he published a pamphlet of 198 pages with the title: "*Yet a course*

¹ *Chambers* E. K., *The Mediaeval Stage*. Oxford 1903. II, 446.

Zurich during the Reformation ²³
at the Romyshe foxe", a furious attack
on popery, continuing William Wraghton's
(i. e. William Turner) "The huntyng and
fyndyng out of the Romyshe foxe", which
was printed at Basle in 1543. Bale's
book, copies of which are in the British
Museum as well as in the Bodleian,
shows the colophon: "imprinted at Zurik
by Olyver Jacobson Anno Domini 1543,
the X. daye of Decembre." It is difficult,
if not impossible, to decide whether the
statement of the colophon be really correct.
Oliver Jacobson, at any rate, does not ap-
pear as the name of a Zurich printer at
that time. Nevertheless we have to
admit that Bale was in Switzerland and
probably even in Zurich in the year 1543,
in spite of his own expression, that he
spent his eight years of exile (1540—1547)
"in inferiori Germania".¹ In that elegant
dedication of the "Acta Romanorum

¹ *Baleus*, Scriptorum illustrium maioris
Britanniae catalogus. Basileae, 1557—1559, s. v.
Baleus.

24 *Relations between England and Pontificum*" (1558), addressed to the Swiss reformers, he speaks of the hospitality he enjoyed in Bullinger's house, and of the old friendship that connected him with the leaders of Protestantism in Switzerland.¹ There is, moreover, another book of Bale, under the name of Henry Stalbrydge, "The Epistel Exhortatorye of an Inglyshe Chrystian", at the end of which we read: "Written from *Basyle* a cyte of the Heluecyanes . . . in the year . . . 1544." And a third one, with the real name of John Bale, "A mysterye of inyquyte", was printed at Geneva in 1545.²

With the accession of Edward VI John Bale returned to England, was made rector of Bishopstoke, Hants, and, in 1553, Bishop of Ossory, in Ireland. On the day of the proclamation of Queen Mary, on August 20th, 1553, he had some of his

¹ Reprinted in: *Litterarische Beziehungen zwischen England und der Schweiz im Reformationszeitalter* (by Th. Vetter). Zürich 1901, p. 33—37. ² *ib.* p. 10—11.

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plays performed at Kilkenny, "to the small contentacion of the Prestes and other Papistes there". Very soon the bishop of Ossory had to leave his country once more and came again to Basle. Together with his friend John Foxe, the martyrologist, he lived in the house of the printer Oporinus, being employed as a reader of his press. The literary work which Bale performed during those years is astonishing; the "Catalogus" alone (1557—1559) is a „monumentum aere perennius". The second part of it he dedicated to his Zürich friends, Conrad Gesner, Josias Simmler, Conrad Lycosthenes; the short letter which accompanied it is still to be seen in the City Library of Zürich.¹ And Conrad Gesner, on his part, was indebted to John Bale, to whom he dedicated his "Mithridates", one of the earliest attempts in comparative philology. Many of the books consulted by Gesner had been sent to him by Bale,

¹ Reproduced in: *Litterar. Beziehungen etc.*, Zürich 1901.

26 **Relations between England and**
from whom he had also received the Lord's
prayer in Celtic.¹ — On the accession of
Elizabeth, Bale found himself too old to
resume his see, and retired on a prebend
in Canterbury Cathedral, where he died
in 1563.

The English exile, who next after Bale
entered the circle of Bullinger and his
friends, was *John Hooper*, the well-known
martyr under Queen Mary. Born "towards
the end of the 15th century" he was several
years older than Bullinger, and a man
of years when he came to Zurich in
1547. According to John Foxe,² he had
received an excellent education, was made
B. A. at Oxford in 1519, and "through
God's secret vocation was stirred with
fervent desire to the love and knowledge
of the Scriptures." He adopted Protestant
views, but had to flee from England as
early as 1539, to avoid persecution. He
lived in France, afterwards at Strasburg,

¹ Mithridates, fol. 13b. ² Acts and Monu-
ments, ed. by Cattley. London 1838, Vol. VI, 637.

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whence he addresses Bullinger in a letter of Jan. 27th, 1546, giving certain details of his earlier life. "Not many years since, when I was a courtier, and living too much of a court life in the palace of our king, there most happily and auspiciously came under my notice certain writings of master Huldrich Zuinglius, a most excellent man, of pious memory; and also some commentaries upon the epistles of St. Paul, which your reverence had published for the general benefit, and which will prove a lasting monument of your renown."¹ Hooper's plan is to go home to England, in order to get some means from his father, whose only son and heir he is, wherewith he might be able to subsist at Zurich. But he knows that he will not be well received by his father, who hates him for having left the Catholic church; and other dangers are waiting for him. After his return he writes — probably from Basle —: "I will relate

¹ Original Letters, No. 21.

28 *Relations between England and*
to you in person the events of my long
and most dangerous journey to England.
I suffered many things by land; twice
I suffered bonds and imprisonment; whence
being marvellously delivered by the mercy
of God, though with the heavy loss of
my fortune, I was wretchedly harassed
by sea for three months both by enemies
and storms . . . Having been delivered
from fire and water, I came upon war:
I see nothing but the death of all god-
liness and religion."

With recommendations of Franciscus
Dryander, the translator of the New Testa-
ment into Spanish,¹ and Oswald Myconius²
(Geishüsler), Zwingli's friend, both then
at Basle, John Hooper and his wife Anna
de Tserclas arrived at Zurich, March 29th,
1547,³ and were received at Bullinger's
own house until they could find suitable

¹ Archives of the Canton of Zurich E. II. 366,
fol. 36. ² Bullinger's letter to Myconius, April 4th,
1547 (Simmler's Collection). ³ Heinrich Bullingers
Diarium, edited by E. Egli, Basel 1904, p. 35.

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apartments of their own. John Hooper lost no time in beginning his studies with the excellent teachers he could find here; in spite of his age he sat at the feet of Bullinger together with much younger pupils, Pellikan taught him Hebrew and the interpretation of the Old Testament.

Meanwhile Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, a staunch supporter of royal supremacy, and a good Catholic too, had published his "Declaration of the Devil's Sophistry",¹ a new and violent attack on Protestant beliefs. The book had been delivered to Hooper in Zurich on the 30th April, 1547, i. e. a few weeks after his arrival; he perused and studied it carefully, and was soon convinced that the eloquence of his antagonist might prove fatal to many adherents of the Reformation, especially to the unlearned. He at once decided to write a refutation: "Because I desire such as know the truth to persevere in the same, and such as

¹ *Strype*, *Eccles. Mem.* II. I, 52.

30 **Relations between England and**

yet be ignorant thereof to come unto the truth, that in Christ they might with the church of truth find eternal salvation."

Hooper declares fearlessly: "I see the name of God blasphemed by the opinion that ye defend"; and he challenges the proud bishop (at the end of the preface) in saying: "Those that will establish the mass as ye do, my Lord, and defend idolatry, must prove the thing ye speak by the Scripture, and plainly satisfy the places of the Scripture brought against you." The preface is signed "Tiguri, 9. Septembris 1547", and the book (a volume of 168 pages) was printed in Zurich. Since it is the *first English book* that came out in Zurich, it is of extraordinary importance. Copies of it are very rare. The title runs:

An Answer vnto my | lord of wynchesters
booke intytlyd a | detection of the deuyls
Sophistrye. wherwith | he robbith the vnlernyd
people of the trew | byleef in the moost
bleffyde sacra= | ment of the aulter made by |
Johann Hoper. | Psalm. 119. | Vestigia mea
dirige in uerbo tuo domine, & | & (sic) non

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dominabi= | tur mei ulla iniquitas, | Pryntyd in
Zurych by Auguſtyne Fries. | Anno M.D.XLVII.

The copy in the City Library of Zurich is bound together with a mathematical treatise, and belonged to the celebrated polyhistor and physician Conrad Gesner. — The number of misprints and misunderstandings in this valuable publication is endless, although evidently great pains were bestowed on the whole get-up of it.

The attack on Stephen Gardiner may hardly have reached England, when Hooper sent a second work to his Zurich printer, which was of a more general and less polemic character :

A Declaration | of Chriſte and of his |
offyce compyled, by Jo= | han Hoper, Anno |
1547.

The preface is signed : Tiguri 8. decembris. 1547, and at the end of the book we read : Pryntyd in Zvrych by Avguſtyne Fries. Anno M. D. XLVII. The copy in the City Library of Zurich shows, in Hooper's own hand, a dedication to Conrad Gesner.

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In the opening address to Edward Duke of Somerset he praises his recent victory over the Scots at Pinkie Cleugh, and expects from the Protector of England that he will also be a protector of the true church. There are still very many mistakes in this book; but the English printer, Christopher Rosdell, who republished it thirty-five years later, is unjust in speaking even on the titlepage of the "great unskilfulnesse of the printer", adding in his epistle dedicatory: "This godly and profitable tract, in itself most pure and pleasant, by passing through the press of an unskilful printer at Zurich in Germany, was so infected and corrupted, not with small and petty scapes, but with gross and palpable faults, not here and there, but in every leaf, in every page, and almost in every line, that it might truly be said: Either this is not master Hooper's work, or else, *quam dissimilis sui prodit.*"¹

¹ Early Writings of Hooper. Cambridge 1843, p. VIII.

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As to the work itself, Rosdell is full of enthusiasm: "Herein the principal points of Christian religion are so sententiously handled, and Christ and his office so lively described, that nothing can be more clear to the eye, or more melodious and sweet to the ear of the godly Christian."¹

Following the very trustworthy authority of Josias Simmler² (1530—1576), there is a third work of John Hooper that was printed in Zurich:

A Declaration| of the ten holy commaunde |
mentes of allmygthye God, wro= | ten Exo.
20. Deu. 5. Collectyd | out of the scripture
Ca= | nonicall, by Joan= | ne Hopper. |
Cum, and fe: Joan. 1. | Anno M. D. XLVIII.

Simmler declares the type to be that of Froschower in Zurich, and after a close inspection of the copy in the British Museum (no copy existing in Switzerland)

¹ Early Writings of Hooper. Cambridge 1843, p. VII. ² Simmler's Collection at the City Library of Zurich; sub Dec. 1547: Scripta Ioannis Hoperi 1547 et 1548 dum Tiguri versabatur, Anglice ab ipso edita.

34 *Relations between England and*
we cannot but agree with him. But no place of publication nor name of printer being given, and the preface being signed the 5th Nov., 1549, when Hooper had already returned to England, we are forced to suppose that the author took the sheets with him to London and had the book finished and bound there. Only if we take it so, the words on page CCXXXIII may be understood: “. . . . remember I pray the that it is not in maner possible to prynt in a knowen tonge a hole worke, with out faultes. how mouche more impossible where as the Setters of the prynt vndrestandithe not one word of oure speche, and wantythe also souche as knowithe the art of trew correctyng.” And this remark has been omitted in the reprint of Richard Jugge, London, 1550.

We cannot be surprised to find Bullinger's influence in these early writings of Hooper; he not only followed his lectures conscientiously, he was also in daily intercourse with his master. — A child was

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born to the Hooper family while at Zurich, and Bullinger became godfather, Theodore Bibliander's wife Rosina godmother of little Rachel. He never forgets to inquire after his godchild in his letters to Hooper in later years, he sends her greetings and little presents.

On the 24th March, 1549, John Hooper, his wife and child, and Johannes Stumpf, who was to visit England as a student of theology, left Zurich after a sad parting.¹ A few hours later Hooper wrote a first letter (unfortunately lost) to Bullinger from Dietikon; then again news was sent from Basle, Strasburg, Mayence, Cologne, and Antwerp. He relates the adventures of their long journey, and speaks of the many friends of the Reformation he calls upon on his way. They are all full of veneration for the leader of the Zurich church, and Hooper himself thinks so highly of him, that he tries to induce him to in-

¹ *Foxe*, Acts and Monuments, ed. by Cattley. London 1838, VI, 638.

36 **Relations between England and**
terfere between France and England. "I
have often earnestly besought you and your
people to interpose your mediation between
France and England; and I now again
and again suppliantly entreat and beseech
you the same thing, for the sake of
Christ, who is the restorer of peace . . .
Let not the majesty of the royal name or
the vapouring of any other title deter you."¹
Hooper will send an amanuensis to
Zurich who has to copy sermons and
dissertations of Bullinger, Bibliander, and
Gwalter. "I wish you were acquainted
with our language, and that master Gwalter
also knew it for six months: I doubt not
but that God would convert many hearts
to the knowledge of himself,"² he writes
a few weeks later.

In May, 1549, the party arrives in
England. Much work is waiting for
Hooper, who is created bishop of Gloucester,
in 1550,³ and bishop of Worcester (in
commendam), in 1552. We have not to

¹ Original Letters, No. 28. ² No. 33. ³ No. 39.

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speak here of the great difficulties which he, partly by his own fault, had to overcome, nor of the influence he had on the Reformation in England; we may only add that he always remained thankful towards his Zurich friends, and that he was happy to receive their advice and instruction. On the Wednesdays during Lent, in 1550, Hooper had to preach before the king and council, and he is anxious to do his best at this opportunity. "May the Lord open my heart and mouth, that I may think and speak those things which may advance his kingdom! I shall make choice, I think, of a very suitable subject, namely, the prophet Jonas; which will enable me freely to touch upon the duties of individuals. Do you, my reverend friend, write back as soon as possible, and diligently instruct me as to what you think may conveniently be said in so crowded an auditory" ¹

Hooper, moreover, encourages Bullinger:

¹ Original Letters, No. 37.

38 *Relations between England and*
“If you have anything which you purpose soon to send to the press, you should dedicate it to our most excellent sovereign, king Edward the sixth . . . If you will comply with my wishes in this respect, you will advance the glory of God in no small degree.”¹ This advice was followed at once, and Bullinger sent the third decade of his sermons (including also sermons I and II of the fourth) together with a letter to England,² where in Hooper’s presence it was handed over to the king (“splendidly bound”) on the 25th April, 1550.³ The dedication to the king, written “in the month of March”, and a second one which was to accompany sermons III—X of the fourth Decade, written “in the month of August, the year of our Lord 1550”,⁴ are excellent specimens of Bullinger’s learning, sagacity, and versatility.

¹ Original Letters, No. 36; also No. 37, postscript.

² No. 311 and No. 39. ³ Nos. 260 and 312. ⁴ The Decades of Henry Bullinger, translated by H. I. Edited for the Parker Society by Thomas Harding. Cambridge, 1849—1852. Vol. III, 1—16; Vol. IV, 115—122.

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Incessantly Hooper offers his service to all the friends of Bullinger who might come to England,¹ and he does all that is in his power to show his everlasting thankfulness. To Conrad Gesner, e. g., he sends "a Welsh dictionary, and some writings in the language of Cornubia, commonly called Cornwall;"² "and should master Gesner wish at any time to come over to us, I will provide him with suitable companions who will show him the rivers, and fishes, and animals of this country."³

All the theological and even some of the scientific publications of the Zurich friends are sent to Hooper, to whom the learned Theodore Bibliander dedicates his treatise on the Ten Commandments (*Sermo divinae maiestatis voce pronuntiatus in monte Sinai, Basileae 1552*), which however did not reach him.⁴

After 1551 Hooper's letters become

¹ Original Letters, No. 40 and postscript.

² No. 36. ³ No. 41, postscript. ⁴ No. 48.

40 *Relations between England and*
rarer and rarer. His time is entirely taken up by the duties of his high position, until the death of Edward VI brought a sudden change. With the beginning of Mary's reign (3th Aug., 1553) the Protestant preachers were forbidden to preach; Hooper was imprisoned and committed unto the Fleet from Richmond, Sept. 1st; two days later he writes a few lines to Bullinger;¹ other letters from the prison seem not to have been forwarded.² An epistle from Bullinger, dated on the 10th of October, 1554, brought great comfort to the prisoner, who is able ("by stealth") to answer on Dec. 11th — his last letter. He knows that the death of a martyr is waiting for him, and so he sends his last greetings: "I entreat you to comfort occasionally by your letters that most exemplary and godly woman, my wife, and exhort her to bring up our children carefully, Rachel your little god-daughter, an exceedingly well disposed girl, and my son Daniel,

¹ No. 44. ² No. 46.

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and piously to educate them in the knowledge and fear of God. I moreover send your reverence two little books for your perusal, consideration, and correction, if they contain any thing not agreeable to the word of God . . . And I beg that you will cause them to be printed as soon as possible . . . And if your friend Froschower should be prevented from printing them by more important engagements, I wish he would send them to Basle to master Oporinus, who prints very correctly, and sends out all his publications in a superior manner.”¹ Neither of these books appears to have been printed, and even the manuscripts seem to be lost.

On the 9th of February, 1555, John Hooper was burned at Gloucester; he died as a true and faithful martyr.² His wife, together with little Rachel, had fled to Frankfort, where the senate had granted liberty to the English fugitives. This was

¹ No. 48. ² *Foxe*, Acts and Monuments, VI, 652.

42 *Relations between England and*
in April, 1554.¹ There exists one short
letter in Latin which Anne Hooper sends
to Zurich after her husband's cruel death.
She inquires after the publication of the
two manuscripts, thanks for the new year's
gift of Bullinger, and adds, in the name
of Rachel, "an English coin, on which
are the effigies of Ahab and Jezebel"
(King Philip II and Queen Mary).²

In the following year we are informed
through a letter of Martin Micronius,³ who
had lived in the Hooper family, that Anne
Hooper and her daughter Rachel have
died. When and where, we do not know.

John Hooper was not the first victim
of the cruel persecution under Queen Mary;
five days before, on Feb. 4th, 1555,

¹ Original Letters, No. 51. ² No. 54.

³ Dated March 5th, 1556. Cantonal Archives,
Zurich, E II 375, fol. 487. — In John *Foxe's*
Acts and Monuments etc., ed. by Cattley. Vol.
VI, 659, we find: In clarissimi Doctrina et Pie-
tate Viri Johannis Hoperi Martyrium Conradi
Gesneri carmen.

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a martyr had been committed to the flames whose position in the church had never been so prominent as Hooper's, but whose work had always been faithful to the Reformation. *John Rogers'* name is intimately connected with the translation of the Bible into English, although he is far better known by his pseudonym *Thomas Matthew*, a name also known at Zurich in connection with a most precious publication.

The adventurous story of the publication of the New Testament, translated by *William Tyndale*, and printed first at Cologne, up to sheet K, whereupon the sheets had to be secretly brought to Worms to escape the fury of the enemies of the Reformation, has often been told.¹ At Worms the book was finished, and three thousand copies of it were introduced into England in 1526. The Pentateuch followed "Emprinted at Malborow (Marburg), in the lande of Hesse, by Hans Luft, the yere

¹ See *R. Lovett*, *The printed English Bible*. London, 1894.

44 **Relations between England and**
of oure Lorde 1530", and in 1534 a re-
vised edition of Tyndale's New Testament,
printed by Martin Empereur at Antwerp.
When Tyndale died the death of a martyr
at Vilvorde near Antwerp, in 1536, there
existed already seven different editions of
the New Testament in English, and a
complete English Bible had come out in
1535. Of the translator, *Miles Coverdale*,
we are sufficiently informed, while neither
printer nor place are known. The theory
that Christopher Froschower at Zurich was
the printer does not stand on a very solid
ground; we must be satisfied to state the
fact, that Coverdale's New Testament alone
was published by the celebrated Zurich
printer, fifteen years later:

The newe | Testament faythfully transf= |
lated by Miles Couerdal. | Anno 1550. | Roma.
XV. a. | Whatsoever thinges are wrytten | afore
tyme, are wrytten for | oure learnynge.

On the last page but one there is the
misprint: The Reuelacion Of S. Judas;
and on the last the colophon:

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Imprynted at Zü= | rich, by Christoffel
Frof= | chouer, in the yeaer after the creacion
of | the worlde. 5. 5. 25. And after | the
byrth of our Sauour. | 1. 5. 50.

Any doubt that might arise on account of the colophon being only pasted upon the last leaf of the Zurich copy is suppressed by the fact, that the initials at the beginning of each book are identical with those used by Froschower for his German Bible.

William Tyndale's work was continued after his death by his friend John Rogers, whose name we had to mention in connection with John Hooper's death in Feb. 1555. But to conceal his identity, Rogers, after a generally received tradition, assumed the name of *Thomas Matthew*, under which name he presented the English Christians with a new Bible in 1537. One might think to possess a reprint of Matthew's Bible in the Zurich publication of 1550:

The whole Byble, | that is, the Olde and
Newe | Testamente, truly and purely | trans-
lated into Englische, by | Mayst. Thomas

46 **Relations between England and**
Mathewe. | Efaie . . j. | Hearcken to ye heauens :
and thou earth | geauē eare: for the LORD
| †speaketh† | Christ. Frosch. | Imprinted in
Zürych by Chrystoffer Froschower.

The Old Testament is printed on 494 leaves, the New on 121; we are finally informed that the printing was finished on “the xvj. daye in the moneth of August 1550” — But strange enough, after a careful examination of a few pages, we discover that we have before us the Bible of Miles Coverdale. Why this change of name was introduced by Froschower, for what reasons Coverdale should not appear as the translator, we cannot even guess. In England copies of the very same book, the bulk of which had been printed in Zurich, were sold under Coverdale’s name: “faythfully translated into Englyshe by *Myles Couerdale*”, and “prynted for Andrewe Hester: 16th Aug. 1550.” For the volume in the British Museum the catalogue remarks: “The titlepage and preliminary matter are in English black letter, and must have been

substituted for the original Zurich leaves by the London publisher". And for a third time the same book was offered to the public in 1553, by Richard Jugge, who had again printed a new titlepage.

After 1550 no English Bible or parts of it were printed at Zurich, while Geneva and its printers became more and more of importance. There the New Testament in William Whittingham's translation saw the light in 1557, there a Bible with annotations was printed in 1560, in which according to all probability the labours of William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, Thomas Sampson and others are united.

It is to be regretted that no letters of Christopher Froschower, the Zurich printer, or of Rowland Hall (a pseudonym?) have come down to us, from which we might learn more about the circumstances, under which the Bibles of Zurich and Geneva were published. From their great scarcity we have to suppose that only very few copies reached England, but

48 **Relations between England and**
that most of them were in the hands of Englishmen on the Continent. Even the rapidly increasing correspondence of the head of the Church of Zurich furnishes us no information about those enterprises.

Bullinger had willingly fulfilled the wishes of his English friends to work for the propagation of the new belief in England by writing letters and sending books to persons of influence. We know not only of his correspondence with *Lady Jane Grey* (already mentioned), but also of letters addressed to the *Duke of Suffolk*; to *Richard Cox*, then tutor to Edward VI, in his later years Bishop of Ely; to the celebrated Greek scholar *Sir John Cheke*, a man also of very great influence during the reign of the juvenile king; to *John Aylmer*, chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, and tutor to Lady Jane Grey; to *Thomas Harding*, the Hebraist, then a friend of the Reformation, afterwards a stanch defender of Catholicism; and to *Peter Martyr Vermigli*, the Italian scholar,

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whom Cranmer had brought to England
(in 1547), where he was appointed Divinity
professor at Oxford.

It was Peter Martyr who seems to have sent the first account of the persecutions under Queen Mary to Zurich, of the sufferings of the bishops, of whom many were Bullinger's friends. He had been in great danger himself, because some zealous Catholics urged his imprisonment, but "Gardiner, to his honour, pleaded that he had come over by an invitation from a former government, and furnished him with supplies to return to his own country in safety."¹ From Strasburg he writes on Nov. 3th, 1553: "I have at length arrived here, on the 29th of October: but what perils I have undergone, both in England and during my journey, it would be too long to relate . . . This only I would not have you ignorant of, that the most reverend the Archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) is imprisoned, and together with

¹ Original Letters, No. 237, Note.

50 **Relations between England and**
him are the bishops of Worcester (Hooper),
Exeter (Miles Coverdale), London, ^{Reverend} the
Archbishop of York, Latimer, and several
godly and learned preachers, for whom
I earnestly entreat the abundant prayers
of your church, forasmuch as they are
in the most extreme danger." The Arch-
bishop of Canterbury had posted up notices
throughout all London, stating that he was
ready, together with Peter Martyr and
some others, to defend in public dispu-
tations everything that had been taught
by them respecting religion; but their
adversaries declared, that it was not safe
to dispute upon such matters now; and
that it was not to be allowed that any
doubt should be entertained respecting
those things which had been received by
the universal consent of the Church.

A few weeks later, Peter Martyr sends
again news he has received from England:
"On the 14th of November the Archbishop
of Canterbury, together with the late
Queen Jane, and the sons of the Duke of

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Northumberland,¹ were brought to trial, and condemned to death; and to the archbishop is assigned a most cruel kind of punishment, namely, that of being hanged and quartered; . . . they charge him with the crime of treason. They have moreover decreed in parliament, that the mass shall everywhere be admitted, and have fixed the 20th of December as the time of its introduction. They have also established the doctrine of transubstantiation.”²

When Queen Mary's intended marriage with Philip became known, when the danger was increasing that Spaniards were coming “to conquer the realm”, the Protestants of England that were not already in the hands of Gardiner, who by this time had unconditionally submitted himself to the authority of the Pope, had no other expedient to save themselves, but to take refuge on the Continent. In

¹ Guilford, who had married Lady Jane Grey; and Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, afterwards released; he died 1589. ² Original Letters, No. 238.

52 **Relations between England and**
hundreds they came over to Embden in Friesland, to Wesel and Frankfort, to Strasburg and to the Swiss strongholds of the Reformation: Zurich, Basle, Berne, and Geneva. While the (unsuccessful) revolt under Sir Thomas Wyatt was preparing itself in Kent, in April, 1554, a group of some twelve or fourteen English fugitives reached Zurich, on the 5th of that month.¹ In a Latin petition, addressed to the magistrates of the town, they asked for the permission to live at Zurich:

“Forasmuch as we are exiled from England, our beloved country, and for the sake of that light of divine truth by which she was lately distinguished, we humbly request of your worthiness, that we may be permitted to sojourn in this most famous city, relying upon and supported by your sanction, decree, and protection against the violence of those, should any such be found, who would oppose

¹ Heinrich Bullinger's *Diarium*, ed. by Egli. Basle 1904, p. 46.

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and molest us. The Lord knoweth, for whose sake we have left our all, that we seek for nothing besides himself. And for this reason chiefly we have unanimously and with ready minds come to this place, where he is most sincerely preached and most purely worshipped. This being the case, we entertain the hope that, as you are most zealous defenders of the true Christian religion, so you will protect us by your authority, who by reason of the same are exiled and homeless. May the Lord Jesus long preserve you and this your illustrious state in safety and prosperity! Your most humble petitioners,
Robert Horn. Margery his wife. James Pilkington. Thomas Lever. John Mullins. Thomas Bentham. Richard Chambers. Thomas Spencer. Henry Cockraft. Michael Reniger. Laurence Humphrey. William Cole."¹

Thomas Lever, leader of the extreme Protestant reformers at Cambridge, had

¹ Original Letters, No. 356, dated only 1554.

54 **Relations between England and**
evidently arranged things with Bullinger
beforehand, for we know that he had
arrived at Zurich as early as March 10th,
1554.¹ Others, like Nicolas *Carvell*, Robert
Beaumont, John *Parkhurst*, must have come
at about the same time.

The English guests found lodgings in
a house which belonged to Froschower,
the printer,² now Stüssihofstatt 13, and
were taken care of by the widow of a
clergyman. Bullinger lectured before them
regularly, and many of them were zeal-
ously studying the Hebrew and Greek
languages. Although they possessed very
little or nothing, their Zurich friends had
not to provide for them, since Richard
Chambers who had his usual residence
at Frankfort had offered to give the means
for the Protestant ministers abroad during
the Catholic persecution³. Once only we

¹ Bullinger's *Diarium*, p. 46. ² "Zu der
hinderen Linden, hinder der Trüw und vorderen
Linden", Bullinger's *Diarium*, p. 46, and: Vögelin,
*Das alte Zürich*² I, 402. ³ *Original Letters*, No. 78,
April 23rd, 1554; *ibid.*, No. 353.

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hear of a petition sent to Bullinger by Michael Reniger (although living in the immediate neighbourhood), in which the patron of the exiles is requested to help¹. It would have been difficult for Zurich then to do more, since negotiations were going on with the Italian Protestants who were expected to leave their country. On the 12th of May, 1555, one hundred and sixteen of them arrived, and the magistrates of Zurich, together with Bullinger and his friends had to take care of them.

Under such circumstances the English fugitives thought it proper to settle down somewhere else. Thomas Lever applied to the magistrates of Berne, and was permitted to sojourn in any part of the Bernese territory.² Vevey and Aarau were taken into consideration, and the latter finally chosen. Lever himself, though invited to Wesel, took charge of the congregation, and the church of St. Ursula was opened to them for their services.

¹ Original Letters, No. 183. ² No. 83.

56 *Relations between England and*

Bullinger, no doubt, continued to be their adviser, and he showed his interest for the exiles in dedicating to them his hundred Latin sermons on the Apocalypse (in 1557).¹ The book was afterwards translated into English by John Dans (London, 1561), and Bishop Parkhurst gave directions to all the ministers of his bishopric to procure it either in Latin or English.²

Very often other English exiles came from Frankfort, Strasburg, or Geneva to see Bullinger and Peter Martyr, who spent the last six years of his life (1556—62) at Zurich. Numerous letters addressed to these men by English theologians show in what high esteem they were with the ministers of the English church. When by the early death of Queen Mary and the accession of her sister Elizabeth, Protestantism became triumphant and the new form of religion had to be definitely in-

¹ Original Letters, No. 87, and Bullinger's Decades, V, XXIII. ² Zurich Letters, No. 42.

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troduced, it was always Bullinger whose opinion in many questions was asked for, and we can hardly understand how he was able to satisfy all his correspondents. Almost all the high dignitaries of the English church had been his guests, and they all referred to him, when anything of importance was to be decided. The two volumes of "Zurich Letters", edited by Hastings Robinson (Cambridge, 1842 and '45), are an important source for the history of the development of English theology. In reading these documents we cannot but wonder at the remarkable influence Bullinger enjoyed. About twenty of his works and treatises were translated into English, among them his fifty sermons (5 Decades) which were printed in 1577, '84, and '87 respectively.

Personal news came from all parts of England to Zurich, and many a line was written to express the thanks of the late fugitives, now bishops and other dignitaries, for the hospitality they had met

58 **Relations between England and**
with in Switzerland. Presents were added,
and sometimes money with a wish that
a cup might be ordered in Zurich to be
used at their convivial meetings in me-
mory of their English friends. Three of
these cups are now preserved in the Swiss
Landesmuseum. Round the first we read
the inscription: D. Ioannis Parkhrsti
Episcopi Nordovicensis Ξ enion 1563.
Parkhurst's coat of arms is inside to which
is added: Quaestorib. Hvldr. Zvinglio et
Henr. Bvllingero. The receivers, therefore,
were Bullinger and his son-in-law Ulrich
Zwingli.

The second was given by *John Jewel*,
Bishop of Salisbury, an intimate friend of
Peter Martyr with whom he had stayed at
Strasburg and Zurich: R. D. D. Ioannis
Ivelli Episcopi Sarisberiensis Ξ enion 1565.
In August, 1562, already he had sent to
Peter Martyr "ten French crowns, which
I desire may be expended, at the discretion
of yourself and Bullinger, upon a public
supper in your common-hall, to which may

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be invited, as usual, the ministers of the churches, and young students, and any others whom you may think fit.”¹

The third cup is the gift of *Robert Horne*, one of the most faithful friends to the ministers of Zurich; he sends fourteen crowns, together with his coat of arms, “that you may get a cup made that is larger and more suitable for a full party.”² The inscription is: D. Roberti Horni Episcopi Vintoniensis *Senion* 1564, also with the giver’s coat of arms. The three English presents are the work of Felix Keller, who was goldsmith at Zurich from 1562 to 1599.

A far more artistic cup Bullinger had received from the Protestant Queen Elizabeth herself, who had received so favourable reports from the head of the Zurich church and who wished to show him her recognition for the hospitality extended to the English refugees. The hexameters written on the inside of the cover around Bullinger’s

¹ Zurich Letters, No. 51. ² Zurich Letters, No. 61, Dec. 13th, 1563.

60 **Relations between England and**
coat of arms explain the circumstances
under which the gift was offered :

Anglorum exsilium Tigurina ecclesia fovit :

Sub Mariae sceptris id sancte agnovit Elisa :

Et Bullingerum hoc donavit munere poclo :

A° 1560.

It is generally accepted that Parkhurst had been ordered by the Queen to send the present, and that it was made at Strasburg.¹

More valuable still than all those kind gifts were the innumerable services done by the English bishops to Swiss students who came over to Oxford and Cambridge. Everywhere the young men were excellently received, they were admitted to the best colleges, introduced to the best society, and provided with everything that was necessary to them. There can hardly be anything more touching than the fates of the two grandsons of Ulrich Zwingli, *Rudolf Zwingli* and *Rudolf Gwalter*, who went to England in Dec. 1571, where young

¹ Carl *Pestalozzi*, Heinrich Bullinger. Elberfeld 1858, p. 448.

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Zwingli died in the house of the Bishop of Ely in London, and was buried in St. Andrew's Church (High Holborn), June 5th, 1572.¹ The letters sent home by Gwalter show with what extreme kindness the two young travellers were treated in England.

It was not an empty phrase when Bishop Jewel after his return from his exile exclaimed: "O Zurich! Zurich! how much oftener do I now think of thee than ever I thought of England when I was at Zurich;"² or when John Parkhurst ends one of his letters³ with the words: "City of Zurich, farewell. Woe betide those who wish thee not all prosperity. City of Zurich, farewell."

Urbs Tigurina, vale: valeant male, prospera cuncta
Qui tibi non optant: urbs Tigurina, vale.

¹ Zwingliana 1903, p. 254—261. ² Zurich Letters, No. 9. ³ No. 12.

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